

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
COLONIZATION SOCIETY
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK,
AT THEIR THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THE 13TH AND
14TH OF MAY, 1835,
INCLUDING
THE ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BOARD OF MANAGERS,
TO THE
SOCIETY,

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.....
1835.

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At the Third Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society of the City of New York, auxiliary to the American Society for the colonization in Africa, of free people of colour, held at the Second Presbyterian Church in Beekman street, on Wednesday the 13th of May 1835, and continued by adjournment until the next evening.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER DUER, L. L. D., President of Columbia College, and President of the Society, in the chair, supported by the Rev. James Milnor, D. D. the Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D. John W. Hinton Esq. Vice-Presidents, and Samuel Bayard Esq. of New-Jersey, one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Colonization Society.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. John Knox, D. D. senior associate Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the City of New York,—after which, the Annual Report of the Board of Managers to the Society for the year 1834—5, was presented and read by the President, in the following words, viz :

REPORT.

The Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of the City of New York, in presenting their Annual Report, beg leave to congratulate the Society upon the success which, by the blessing of Providence, has attended their efforts during the past year; and upon the brighter prospects which are opening to their exertions, notwithstanding the opposition and discouragements they have encountered, and have still to apprehend.

Shortly after the last annual meeting of the Society, a proposal was submitted to the Board to unite with the Young Mens' Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, in the establishment of a new and model Colony upon the coast of Liberia, in furtherance of the general objects of this Society, and in execution of its previous determination to that particular effect. A resolution was at the same time transmitted from the former institution, announcing the appointment of its President, the Rev. John Breckenridge, together with Elliott Cresson and Dr. John Bell, as a committee to confer with this Board on the subject of the proposed union, and thereupon a committee on behalf of the Board, consisting of the President of this Society, the Rev. Cyrus Mason, and Anson G. Phelps, was appointed to treat with the committee of the Pennsylvania Society, and conclude upon the terms of future co-operation.

The basis of an agreement was arranged by these committees of conference, and subsequently approved of by the Board, whereby it was declared.

1. That a union between the two Societies ought without delay to be formed.

2. That the basis of the union should be laid in a co-ordinate action of the two institutions, through their respective organs: and that additional conventions or agreements should be entered into when special cases might require them.

3. That the object of the union should be the establishment of a new and model Colony on the coast of Africa, on the following principles, viz:—Temperance; dissuasion from war; the promotion of Agricultural pursuits; and the other principles embodied in the constitutions of the two Societies.

4. That the American Colonization Society to which these institutions stand in relation of auxiliaries, should not be abandoned, but that every thing should be done consistently with the primary object of the union, towards aiding the Parent Society.

5. That the new Colony should be located at Bassa Cove, provided governor Pinney should approve of that location,—and if not, at such other place as should be agreed on.

6. That the name of the Colony should be fixed upon thereafter.

7. That each Society should immediately appoint an efficient agent.

8. That the Pennsylvania Society should go on to redeem its pledge in relation to the slaves of the late Dr. Aylett Hawes of Virginia, in expectation of the aid of this Society in their removal to Africa.

At the time this report of the committee of conference was submitted to the Board, and before its acceptance, an expedition in the ship *Jupiter* was fitting out in this port, in pursuance of the permission given by the Parent Board to this Society, “to establish a new settlement at some suitable location in Liberia, and to expend upon that object the money, received under its immediate auspices:” which Colony was to be established upon the principles set forth in the address of this Society to the public, in February 1834. For the purpose of making the necessary enquiries and arrangements for the immediate founding of this Colony, as contemplated by the Board previously to the project of the union, with the Pennsylvania Society,—Mr. Israel W. Searl a graduate of Amherst College, was appointed to proceed in the *Jupiter*, to take charge of the new settlement under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Spalding, who had been previously appointed the principal Agent of this Society in Africa.

With a view therefore to the contemplated union, Mr. Searl was directed “to confer with the principal Agent, as soon after his arrival in Liberia as possible, on the subject of a suitable location for the proposed Colony,” and they were jointly instructed “to direct their attention to Cape Mount and Bassa Cove, with the view of ascertaining which of the two locations, all things considered, would be preferable for a new Colony, in respect both to agriculture and

to prospective commercial advantages." Mr. Searl was "further directed to act in concert with Mr. Spalding in making such other personal surveys and examinations in regard to the soil, climate and productions of the colonial territory, especially in reference to the prosecution of agricultural labor, as might enable the said agents to furnish correct and useful information to this Board as to the best place for the location of a new colony.

The Jupiter sailed from this port on the 21st of June last, with stores, supplies, agricultural implements and goods for the use of the Colony of Liberia, to the value of seven thousand dollars. Among the passengers were, besides Mr. Searl, the Rev. Ezekial Skinner of Connecticut, a physician as well as a missionary, and Dr. Robert McDowal, a coloured man, educated at Edinburgh as a physician, both of whom went out under appointments from the parent Board, as colonial physicians. They were accompanied by Mr. Charles H. Webb, a medical student under the care of that Board, whose purpose was to complete the study of his profession under the instructions of the physicians of the Colony, and afterwards to engage there in its practice; and also by Mr. Josiah F. C. Finley a graduate of Princeton College, who, as well as Mr. Searl, went out as a teacher, under the patronage of the Ladies' Association of this city. Besides these Eunice Sharpe a coloured woman, of good education and approved piety from Vermont, proceeded to Liberia in the Jupiter, at the expense of this Society and in pursuance of a spontaneous determination to devote herself to the cause of education in Africa.

Subsequently to the departure of the Jupiter, Mr. Thomas S. Clay of Georgia, made a communication to the Board relative to certain persons of colour at Savannah whom it had been proposed previously to the last annual meeting of this Society, to send out to the new Colony; and the object of Mr. Clay was to ascertain whether this Board would co-operate with the Pennsylvania Society, in enabling the persons in question to remove to Liberia. The number and respectability of these people, their peculiar fitness to act as pioneers for the projected settlement, and their anxiety to proceed without delay to Africa, presented a case of so much interest and emergency as to induce this Board without waiting for the reports of its agents in Liberia, to unite at once with the Penn-

sylvania Society in establishing the colony at Bassa Cove, under the agreement made between the committees of conference ; and with a view thereto another committee was appointed to raise the sum of money requisite for sending out to Bassa Cove those free people of colour at Savannah who proposed emigrating to Africa.

This resolution was communicated, as directed by the committee of conference on the part of this Board, to that of the Pennsylvania society ; and the former committee was subsequently instructed to proceed to the consummation of the union between the two Societies ; and was moreover empowered to appoint an efficient agent in pursuance of the mutual agreement to that effect. In execution of this power, a negotiation was recently opened with a reverend gentleman of high character and great experience, whose qualifications for the office are such as to warrant the most sanguine expectations of benefit from his exertions ; and although no actual engagement has been concluded, yet from the communications which have passed between them, the Board entertains the confident hope of obtaining his immediate and undivided services.

In the interval that occurred between the departure of the Jupiter and the final consummation of the union, between the two auxiliary societies, this Board was visited by the Rev. Dr. Laurie, the President, and the Hon. Walter Lowrie, a member of the Board of managers of the American Colonization Society, as a committee of that Board ; and at their request the proposed terms of the agreement between this Board and the Pennsylvania Society was communicated to them at a special meeting of the Board, held for the purpose of conferring with them. At this meeting Mr. Lowrie made a statement of the wants and necessities of the parent Board, and requested the assistance of this Society in obtaining donations and subscriptions for the use of the Society at Washington ;—whereupon it was “ *Resolved*, that the claims of the American Colonization Society upon the patronage and liberality of our fellow-citizens at the present crisis, presented in the opinion of the Board, an imperious call for prompt and vigorous efforts to raise funds either by donations or subscriptions of stock, for the liquidation of the debts of the said Society.” This Board moreover, warmly recommended the appeal proposed to be made in behalf of the parent

Society to the friends of the cause in this city and State;" and appointed "a committee to aid the committee of the parent Board in making their collections: which duty was faithfully discharged by the former, to the best of their ability, in regard not only to the gentlemen composing the latter in the first instance, but in regard also to the Rev. Dr. Hawley and Mr. Joseph Gales, sen. also members of the Board at Washington, who succeeded the first committee in their mission; and to the entire satisfaction, it is believed, of all of them.

From the favorable nature of the unofficial accounts received by the Board with respect to Bassa Cove, and from the urgency of the claims of those persons who were desirous of emigrating from Georgia, the union with the Yeung Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania was finally consummated by the committee of conference, in pursuance of the directions of the Board, without waiting for the Report of its Agents in Liberia. In addition to the former articles of agreement, it was then stipulated that thirty per centum upon all monies raised by the two Auxiliary Societies, should be paid over to the Parent Board, for its exclusive use; that the name of the new colony should be "Bassa Cove," and that particular settlements should be designated by the names of "New York," and "Pennsylvania," respectively.

In the meantime the promptest means were requisite to secure the manumission of upwards of one hundred slaves under the provisions of the will of the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia, and it therefore became necessary for this Board in preference to all other measures, to co-operate in their removal to Liberia within the time limited for that purpose, and which was shortly to expire. These persons had been transferred to the care of the Pennsylvania Society by the parent Board at Washington, "to be sent to Liberia, and supported there by the former in a separate settlement or community, under the superintendence of such agents, and under such local laws and regulations as they might adopt; but that the said community should be considered as a part of the Colony of Liberia and subject in all respects to the general laws of the same;" And upon accepting the transfer and acceding to these conditions the Pennsylvania Society expressly stipulated for the right of making such modifications and reforms of existing laws, as would enable it to give greater

encouragement to agriculture, to prohibit the importation, manufacture or sale of ardent spirits within the new colony, and to adopt an improved plan for supplying the public warehouses, and for the issue by gift or sale of their contents to the colonists and native inhabitants.

These preliminaries having been satisfactorily adjusted, the requisite purchases made of stores, utensils, clothing and other supplies, the ship *Ninus* was chartered for the purpose of taking out the new colonists. On board of this vessel were accordingly embarked one hundred and twenty six coloured emigrants, viz : one hundred and nine of the manumitted slaves of Dr. Hawes, among whom were several well versed in various handicraft employments, whilst the greater part of the remainder were also intelligent ; some able to read and write, all possessed of good moral characters, and nearly one half of the females expert seamstresses. In addition to these, the husband of one of them was manumitted by the Rev. Francis Thornton to enable him to accompany his family. Another father of a family, and a young girl whose parents were among the former party, were purchased with the same view, and also proceeded with the expedition ; together with fourteen other persons of colour, manumitted by the heirs of the late Mathew Page, brother-in-law of Bishop Meade of Virginia, who were sent out by the parent Society to the old Colony, and whose passages were provided on board of the *Ninus* out of the funds of the expedition. Besides these persons of colour Mr. Edward Y. Hankinson and his wife, went out in the same vessel, with the intention of establishing a manual labour school in the Colony, and for that purpose he was supplied by this Board with an ample stock of agricultural implements, and with tools of various descriptions for his workshops.

The *Ninus* arrived at Liberia on the 8th of last December, and on the next day proceeded to Bassa Cove, which had been previously examined by Governor Pinney, the Rev. Mr. Teage, a Methodist missionary, Doctors Skinner, and McDowal, and by Messrs. Russwurm and Prout, both experienced settlers of the old colony, who all concurred in giving to that location a decided preference, and in representing the health of the country about it as superior to any other in the vicinity ; the expense of settling there less than at

any other part of Liberia, and that the certain effect of such a measure would be the destruction of a neighbouring slave factory, and thus prevent many hundred of the natives from being sold and exported as slaves. The most favorable and encouraging accounts of this expedition have just been received by the return of the *Ninus* to Philadelphia. On board of her came passenger a son of one of the native princes in whose dominions the slave trade was formerly carried on, but who has since, through the influence of the civilization introduced by the colonists of Liberia, abandoned that traffic and entrusted his son for education to the Pennsylvania Society.

The cost of this expedition was about eight thousand dollars; viz. two thousand five-hundred, for, the charter of the vessel, and about five thousand five-hundred, for stores and merchandise. Of this sum two thousand one-hundred and eighty dollars were obtained from the executors of Dr. Hawes, who, by his will bequeathed the sum of twenty dollars towards defraying the expenses of the emigration of each of his manumitted slaves. The remainder was raised by the donations and subscriptions of benevolent individuals, principally in Philadelphia, and partially in this city.

From the contributions and exertions of this Board on this pressing occasion, it has hitherto been prevented from taking any definitive measure for the removal of the Georgia emigrants—towards the expense of which are, however applicable a sum of seven hundred and thirty dollars received from Andover in Massachusetts, on condition that every twenty-one dollars thereof should be appropriated to the payment of the passage to Liberia, of one emancipated slave; and a further sum of twelve hundred dollars collected, and contributed by Mr. Clay, in express reference to this purpose. To make up the deficiency, and provide funds for the emigration and settlement, not only of these, but of numerous other slaves in different parts of the Union, not less in the aggregate than eight hundred persons, whose owners have offered to manumit them upon condition of their removal to Liberia, the Board determined to send as soon as practicable another expedition to Bassa Cove, and for this purpose to raise the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. The first step towards the execution of this measure was to call a public meeting of the citizens of New York friendly to the Colonization

cause ; which was accordingly held on the 15th of January last, and was respectably and numerously attended.

Amongst the resolutions adopted by this meeting, was one declaring that it regarded "the union and plan of operation agreed upon between the Colonization Society of the city of New York, and the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, as an event promising to be highly beneficial to the colonization cause ; and cordially recommending it to the approbation and support of all the friends of our coloured population." Another resolution approved "of the plan of raising fifteen thousand dollars in aid of the objects of this Society," and proposed "that a subscription should be opened for the purpose ;" which was immediately done, and the sum of six hundred and thirty dollars was collected and subscribed before the adjournment of the meeting. But this Board has not since been able to procure the balance yet deficient ; although the immediate necessities of the new Colony, and the strong claims of the people at Savannah, and of those numerous slaves who elsewhere await only the means of emigration to receive their manumission, press heavily upon the Board, and impel them to renew the appeal to their fellow citizens, in behalf of these meritorious and suffering individuals, and in furtherance of the measures designed for their relief.

Much of the delay which has occurred in carrying these plans into execution, is doubtless to be ascribed to the persevering opposition which the efforts of this Board have encountered from certain persons in the northern and eastern states, who believe or pretend, that the system of colonization is fraught with evil and pernicious consequences to all the people of colour in the country, whether held in bondage or emancipated, and whether the latter are induced to emigrate to the land from which they sprang, or prefer remaining in that of their involuntary adoption. In short that the colonization system "tends to rivet the chains of the slave, and extends to Africa the vices, but not the benefits of civilization." Upon these grounds or pretexts the persons in question both in their individual capacities, and collective organization under the name of "Anti-Slavery" Societies, not only counteract the influence and traduce the principles of the American Colonization Society, and impugn the motives in which it originated, but actually if not wilfully, misrepresent its acts policy and proceedings, as

well as the sentiments and conduct of all who publicly support its objects, or advocate its cause. They indiscriminately condemn every measure that has ever been adopted or suggested in relation to the Colony of Liberia, defame the characters of those who from time to time have been engaged in its management and superintendence exaggerate every error and misfortune which has occurred in its administration or government, and attempt to impeach the evidence they cannot refute, of its beneficial effects and prospective advantages—and all this avowedly, because they deem its prosperity and existence incompatible with their uncompromising and impracticable project for the immediate abolition of slavery in the South.

From the characters and reputation of some of these individuals both for integrity and understanding, it is impossible to doubt their sincerity; whilst from the language and conduct of the most forward of their associates, it is equally impossible to concede that these are regulated by the precepts of christian charity, even admitting them to flow from the purest and most unquestionable motives. But whether deluded or designing, the ignorance or recklessness of these persons in regard to rights secured to the several States and their citizens, by the Constitution of the Union—their misconception or disregard of public sentiment, even at the South, with respect to Slavery,—their misinformation or wanton misrepresentation of the actual condition and uniform treatment of the whole coloured population, without exception or discrimination—their crude and visionary notions in regard to the practicability, and their imperfect views of the actual progress of emancipation—the precipitate and hazardous measures which they urge to promote it, tending to postpone instead of accelerating its accomplishment—and their oversight or contempt of the insuperable local obstacles to the real improvement and social elevation of our free coloured population, are circumstances, which, in conjunction with the propagation of their doctrines by foreign emissaries—betray if not the foreign origin of their plan, its subservience at least to foreign interests and views. It has indeed been alledged, by one of our own citizens,* to whom we allude “more in sorrow than in anger,” as a sufficient reason for denouncing the Colonization system and its advocates, that “if va-

* The Hon. William Jay, of Westchester.

rious ecclesiastical bodies in our country have recommended it to the patronage of their churches, it is regarded with abhorrence by almost the whole religious community of Great Britain ;" yet even this objection seems to have been prompted by these intrusive foreigners, or urged to countenance their presumptuous interference.

But, be the statement his or theirs, and admitting it to be correct ; admitting too, that the " Solemn Protest" bearing the name of the agitator O'Connel, as well as of the exemplary Wilberforce, affords conclusive evidence of the opinions " of almost the whole religious community of Great Britain," this Board can never acknowledge the competency or authority of persons at best but imperfectly acquainted with the peculiarities and complexity of our political institutions ; uninformed, except by mischievous fanatics, of the situation of our coloured population ; of the actual condition and treatment of those held in slavery ; and of the practicability or consequences of their immediate emancipation ; this Board, we repeat it, can never admit either the competency or the authority of men whose lives and fortunes are not involved in the controversy, and who have no common sympathies with those whose welfare and existence depend on the issue, but are aliens to our country and its institutions ; to pronounce their anathemas against " the doctrines and conduct of the American Colonization Society,"—whatever may be the characters, respectability, or stations of such persons ; however distinguished for their wisdom or moderation as British statesmen, for the catholic spirit of their beneficence as British Philanthropists, or for their patriotism and loyalty as British subjects.

The Board will neither undertake to decide whether the prudence and delicacy of their interference, the courtesy of the terms, or the charitable spirit, of their denunciation, are equal to the zeal by which they seem to have been prompted ; nor whether that zeal might not have been as reasonably excited by a consideration of the state of the Irish peasantry, or to the consequences of the sudden abolition of slavery in their own colonies. These are questions which this Board willingly leaves to the conscientious and deliberate reflection of the surviving parties to the " Protest ;" though it would feel more confident of a reversal of their opinions, could the purified spirit of Wilberforce exercise over them an influence equal in degree, but opposite in character, to that which

operated upon his enfeebled mind, when almost in the article of death, he was induced to sign that instrument.

That the 'Protest' does not speak the sentiments of "the whole religious community of Great Britain," is however manifest from a letter already before the public, addressed to the President of this Society by Lord Bexley, the President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as of the British African Colonization Society, an institution formed under the patronage of the only member of the Royal Family of England, who has uniformly supported the abolition of slavery in her colonies. But with all our veneration and respect for England, her religion, her literature and her laws; with all our gratitude and attachment to the land from which we derive our origin, our language polity and jurisprudence; with all our sympathy with her philanthropists, and admiration of her benevolent institutions,—let public sentiment in Great Britain be on this subject what it may, it is more important to shew to the satisfaction of our own countrymen, that the aspersions cast on this Society, either by the undistinguishing zeal of foreigners, or the less excuseable infatuation of our own enthusiasts, are alike undeserved and unjustifiable, and wholly irreconcilable with truth candor and christian charity.

That the Colonization in Africa of our free people of colour, tends to the immediate and essential improvement of their condition; that it is in fact the only method by which they can be raised to political and social equality with the whites, whilst so far from preventing or retarding the extinction of slavery, it operates directly to promote emancipation, in the most eligible safe and certain mode, must be plain to every fair and dispassionate inquirer, who will examine this momentous subject, with the patient labour and careful attention its importance demands. It must however be recollected in entering upon the investigation, that the abolition of slavery is not the direct object proposed by the establishment of Colonization Societies; it is neither embraced in terms by their plan, nor referred to in their Constitutions; and to whatever extent it may be encouraged or accomplished by their operations, it is only by incidental, though perhaps, necessary consequence. They regard the subject, as it truly is, one which the Constitution of the United States leaves to the sole regulation and controul of the several

States in which slavery exists, and consequently as one, upon which Congress cannot legislate, and with which no other power, whether self created or deriving its authority from the people of the Union, or of any other State, is warranted to interfere. "The exclusive right of each State in which slavery exists to legislate in regard to its abolition," is indeed expressly admitted by the Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society itself, which declares that its aim is to "convince our fellow citizens by arguments addressed to their reason and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God; and that the duty, safety and best interests of all concerned require its immediate abandonment *without expatriation*":* whilst the avowed object of the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, is merely the removal, and settlement upon, the coast of Africa, of free persons of the African race, with their own free consent.

To establish the first of the propositions thus officially promulgated by our opponents, no argument need be "addressed to the reason and consciences," of many of "our fellow-citizens;"—for no member of this Society, or of this community, and comparatively few, it is believed, even amongst the enlightened slave-holders at the South, require to be "convinced," of the guilt of voluntarily reducing to bondage, or holding in perpetual servitude, a fellow-creature. They deny however that it is a crime in them to retain in subjection to the laws, and to other imperious circumstances, those ignorant and helpless beings who have been cast upon their protection as well as thrown into their power, by no act of their own. The points really at issue then, arise upon the second of the propositions embodied in the Constitution of the immediate Abolitionists, taken in connection with its express repugnancy to Colonization, or as it terms it "*expatriation*:" And these as they relate to two descriptions of persons, naturally resolve themselves into two questions, viz:—First, whether "the safety and best interests" of those people of colour who have obtained their freedom, will be most certainly and effectually promoted by their continuance in this country, or by their voluntary emigration as colonists;—and secondly whether the general emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States will be more speedily effected by arguments ad-

* Vide Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

dressed to their owners, by northern men, than by the inducements to manumission afforded by the plan of Colonization, in which the North and South are united, in offering the means of removing them when manumitted, to Africa.

I. With respect to the first question, it will be perceived that as it is practical in its nature, it can only be determined by experiment ; and in order to decide upon the comparative merits of the two systems, both having in view "the intellectual, moral and religious improvement of our free colored population," and differing only with respect to the theatre of their operations, we must be enabled to look at their respective results. It will be perceived too, that even upon the point of difference, there is no necessary incompatibility or inconsistency in their co-existence. Both systems so far as free persons of colour are concerned, may be carried into full operation without the least interference with each other. The Colonization Society does not contemplate the removal to Africa of the whole mass of our free people of colour, but only of such of them as are willing and qualified to emigrate ; and the success of their scheme depends mainly on the characters and qualifications of the emigrants. It is the interest therefore as well as the declared object of this Society, to promote the emigration of the most exemplary and intelligent individuals of the coloured race ; and surely it may safely be left to the judgments of such persons to determine for themselves, whether a greater degree of comfort, welfare, respectability and happiness may be attained and enjoyed by them in this country, where they are surrounded by a more numerous population of a distinct race and different colour, by the great majority of whom they will, so long as slavery endures in any portion of the union, be regarded as an inferior *caste*, and excluded from all equality of social intercourse, even when admitted to an equal participation of political and civil privileges, than in the colony of Liberia, where no such distinctions, prejudice or degradation can exist, where they will be secure of perfect equality in the enjoyment of all social advantages as well as of political freedom, civil liberty, and religious privileges ; and where every individual amongst them may prove an effectual missionary for the conversion and civilization of the kindred inhabitants of that vast continent from whose shores their own ancestors were torn by fraud or violence.

So far indeed as the experiment has proceeded, all these results have been already shown to be attainable ; and many of them have actually been realized, notwithstanding the mistakes and disappointments which, though to a less extent than in any similar instance, have attended this first enterprize of the American Colonization Society. And if all the benevolent expectations of its founders were not immediately accomplished, should they at once have abandoned their purposes in despair, instead of applying proper remedies and correctives to past errors, and effectual checks and preventives to future mistakes, misfortunes and abuses ? Fortunately for humanity, fortunately for the subjects of their beneficence, and happily for Africa, such was not their decision ; and the prosperity and increase of the original colony of Monrovia, and its dependencies, the reforms that have been introduced in its administration and government, as well as the multiplication of new settlements within the limits of Liberia, upon improved principles, under better regulations and more favorable auspices, have already been the rewards of their perseverance.

But if the design and expectations of this society should not be fulfilled ; if a single emigrant sent to Liberia, should be disappointed in his hopes, become dissatisfied, and conclude that it would have been better for him to have remained in this country, it is always in his power to return : For as his own consent was necessary to his removal, nothing more is requisite to enable him to leave the colony, but the mere expense of the homeward passage, which if his own industry should be insufficient to supply, it cannot be presumed, that the benevolence of his more fortunate associates, or of his new found patrons would withhold. Upon his arrival here he would at all events be a fit subject for the patronage of those who " aim to elevate the character and condition of our free people of colour, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, to enable them according to their intellectual and moral worth, to share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges."* All this as far as practicable, can certainly be effected without any necessary interference with the objects of the Colonization Society,—unless the returned emigrant should be persuaded to give his public sanction to distorted, exaggerated, or unfounded statements with res-

* *Vide*, Constitution American Anti-Slavery Society.

pect to the health, morals, condition or prospects of the Colony ; and to defame the motives and proceedings of its founders and their agents. Let then the friends of immediate emancipation, proceed in the execution of any practical measure for the moral improvement of our coloured population, and let them no longer content themselves with accusing the friends of colonization with indifference to that subject ; a charge, which if advanced against the Society, as a body, must be pronounced to be absurd, as well as groundless, inasmuch as the improvement of the coloured race, except as it attended, and was necessarily induced by their removal to Africa, was not the object for which this Society was formed :—and if the charge be alledged against its individual members, a mere reference to the number and names of those of them who were members of the State Abolition Societies, both in this State and Pennsylvania, and who are now actively engaged as Trustees of Public Schools, devoted to the education of free people of colour, is sufficient to refute it.

II. The question whether the general emancipation of the slaves would be more speedily effected by arguments addressed to their owners, than in consequence of the means afforded by the Colonization Society of removing them to Africa, and establishing them there, in organized communities, is also, as to the alternative proposed by this Society, practical in its nature. And if upon this point there appear any collision or repugnancy between the respective objects of the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies, it can only arise from the implied denunciation and declaration of hostility against the latter, contained in the Constitution of the former ; and from the positive tendency and effect of the measures it proposes, to defeat not only the design of Colonization, but even its own purpose of immediate abolition. Already have the jealousies of the South been rekindled by what they consider a presumptuous and wanton interference with their political rights and personal security, on the part of officious strangers ignorant alike of their position and of their opinions. The avowal of immediate abolition as their object was indeed calculated to excite apprehension, as it could scarcely have been possible that such a purpose could be hoped, even by those who avowed it, to be suddenly accomplished by means of arguments and persuasion addressed to the owners of slaves ; but rather through such as might be addressed to the slaves themselves :

and accordingly the proceedings and publications of modern abolitionists, instead of producing even gradual conviction upon the minds of the former, of the sinfulness of slavery, or leading to improvement in the condition and treatment of the latter, have but provoked resentment and excited alarm in the bosoms of the masters, and occasioned severer restraints upon the physical comforts and moral and religious instruction of the slaves.

But this is not all ; the doctrines avowed by the immediate abolitionists, although countenanced only by an insignificant portion of our northern population, have revived in the south a universal distrust of the professions, sentiments, acts and designs of all northern men and northern institutions, in reference to slavery ; and have consequently embarrassed and impeded the operations of the Colonization Society, not indeed in the mode or on the grounds intended by the abolitionists, but in a manner and for reasons directly opposite in their nature, but to an extent and degree, which would nevertheless afford to these enemies of colonization ample room for exaltation, were it not that this very circumstance disproves the design imputed to the south, of encouraging colonization, from its tendency to perpetuate slavery.

Were it not indeed for these untoward consequences of the Anti-Slavery doctrines and proceedings, the friends of colonization might well be content to yield the field of argument and speculation to their adversaries ; and silently and resolutely pursue that course of practical measures which obviate at least one formidable impediment to emancipation, by offering to the conscientious possessor of a slave the opportunity of divesting himself of what is imposed on him as property, frequently by the operation law alone. It offers to him the means not only of relieving his conscience of a burden, but of removing a weight or an opprobrium cast upon him, perhaps as an inheritance, and which he willingly sustains no longer than the law allows, and humanity permits ;—no longer than until he can bestow freedom without rendering it a greater curse than slavery itself. The institution of the Parent Society by the co-operation of citizens from all parts of the Union, of whom, many were distinguished for patriotism and intelligence, for prudence and discretion, as well as philanthropy and piety, was hailed as a discovery of the happy means of uniting the North and South in one grand enterprize of national benevolence.

Besides promoting an intercourse which might remove jealousies and prejudice, and beget mutual confidence and esteem—the direct object proposed, was the colonization of free people of colour, upon the shores of Africa, with their own voluntary consent. And although the motives of different individuals for concurring in the scheme, were doubtless various, yet the general views of a large majority of its founders, were not only directed to the improvement of the moral and physical condition of the free people of colour, and embraced through their instrumentality, the regeneration of Africa, but comprehended the gradual extinction of slavery as a necessary result. The founders of the American Colonization Society were convinced that without the consent and co-operation of the south, not a step could be taken which led to abolition; and that without the aid and contributions of the north, no funds or resources could be provided either for the removal of such persons of colour as might be disposed to emigrate, or to give effect to the intentions of those proprietors who might be disposed to manumit their slaves: whilst of those founders of the institution who might have originally contemplated the abolition of slavery as the eventual consequence of the colonization system, none probably were of opinion that even if that end could be effected by any method which did not like this, insure the preparation necessary for the enjoyment of freedom, it would prove neither advantageous to the slave, safe for his master, nor consistent with the spirit of a rational and discrete humanity.

They well knew that amongst the Southern proprietors, there were many individuals who from principle or policy were anxious for the entire abolition of slavery, but were prevented from manumitting their own slaves, not merely by the laws prohibiting it except on condition of removal, but also by those higher scruples and considerations of duty which forbade the abandonment to their own discretion and control, those who from ignorance infirmity or vice needed more powerful restraints and protection than any which the laws afford them. Proprietors of this description would, it was supposed, be encouraged by the Colonization system, in their benevolent purposes of manumitting such of their slaves as were capable of using their freedom to their own benefit; and of preparing for freedom such of them as might otherwise abuse it to their own injury, as well as to the detriment of society,—by giving them such

instruction as would fit them for its enjoyment : whilst those who regard their slaves merely as property would be led by the influence of example, and from a perception of the enhanced profits to be derived from free labor, to adopt from motives of policy and interest, the same measure which others had pursued from principle and feeling.

That these hopes and expectations of the founders of the American Colonization Society were not fallacious, is evident from the number and character of the slaves who have already been manumitted, and of those who await emancipation, solely from the operation of the Colonization system. It is also manifest from the rapid increase of free labor in some of the southern and western states ; and it is proved beyond a doubt by the actual adoption of a law for the gradual abolition of slavery founded upon African Colonization, in one of those states, and the prospect of that example being speedily followed by the legislatures of at least two of the others. Another conclusive proof of the direct tendency of Colonization to extinguish slavery, arises from the fact of the larger portion of the emigrants to Liberia having been manumitted that they might become colonists ; and if any further testimony be required, it is afforded by the offer of this Society to receive, and in the circumstance of its having actually received and appropriated to that object, large donations of money, upon the express condition of applying them exclusively to the removal of manumitted slaves.

But it is objected, that the system of Colonization, admitting it to be beneficial, is necessarily too limited in its objects, and too tardy in its operation to prove effectual as a remedy for the evils, or as an instrument for the extirpation, of slavery. This objection although professing to admit, merely for the sake of argument, the beneficent character of the enterprize, yet in effect unavoidably and unwittingly concedes the point. Were it however substantially founded, it might the more easily be removed if those who urge it would but co-operate in the attempt, for we can imagine no impenetrable barrier or insuperable obstacle to restrict the efficiency of Colonization, except such as arises from the want of pecuniary means to obviate or overcome them ; and these means would of course be readily available if our adversaries would but contribute to them a tythe of the sums which they lavish in creating difficulties and erecting impediments to

our success. It was never indeed contemplated by the founders of the scheme, to colonize the whole of our free coloured population, much less to remove from this country all who are now in bondage. It will be well if means be found to insure the emancipation and removal annually of a number equal to the present annual increase of the slave population, or even of all whose freedom may be obtained upon the condition of their removal. But whether the number of those who emigrate be greater or less, in proportion at all events, to that number, must be the benefits derived from the Colonization system. And surely none but those who avowedly prefer that every slave that now exists, or hereafter may be born on this continent, should remain in bondage, rather than obtain freedom at the price of removing to the land of his origin ; none but those who with the example and history of their own country's settlement before them, assert that " Colonization extends to Africa the vices, but not the benefits of civilization" none but such hardy objectors will insist that nothing should be essayed, because every thing cannot be accomplished ; that not a single slave should be liberated, because all cannot be set free at once. Time and experience are alone requisite to convince those who are not wilfully blind, that this objection is as futile as it is unfounded ; and time and experience alone can determine whether the plan of Colonization, or the means proposed by its opponents, are the best adapted " to improve the intellectual, moral and religious condition" of the coloured race ; and whether the former in its effects and consequences, does not promote the abolition of slavery more certainly and securely, and even more speedily, than the direct efforts of the immediate Abolitionists.

This Board however will by no means intermit their exertions or relax in their perseverance until these questions can be determined. Their past experience is sufficient to confirm and strengthen their original confidence in the wisdom, beneficence and practability of their enterprize ; and they will resolutely continue to pursue it through good report and through evil report, without being overawed or tempted to deviate from their avowed and legitimate purpose of removing to the shores of Africa, such free persons of colour as are willing to emigrate, and are worthy to become colonists of Liberia : and if under Providence, this Society should be instrumental in carrying Christianity and its attendant blessings, in-

to that boundless waste of heathenism which extends beyond the field of their immediate efforts, the Board of Managers will consider themselves overpaid for all the labour, anxiety and reproach they have endured, and for all they may be called on to sustain. And in conclusion they would ask, what directly meditated purpose can be imagined more exalted or more hallowed than this merely incidental consequence of the colonization enterprise? Instead of extending "to Africa the vices but not the benefits of civilization," it has already accomplished almost literally the reverse; and if it has not sent forth the blessings, wholly unalloyed by the vices, of cultivated life, it is because they are to a certain degree inseparable from each other. The essential advantages of civilization have nevertheless been imparted to Liberia, whilst its inherent evils have been restrained and mitigated. Ample testimony moreover is at hand to vindicate the character of the colony, and to prove that as a moral and religious community, it is excelled by few, perhaps by none, on the American continent, or in the British Isles. Not only have the lights of gospel truth, of education and virtuous knowledge, as well as of practical science, and the useful arts been enkindled in these infant settlements, but they have gone forth amongst the heathen, who surround them. The hall of justice and the seminary of learning have been reared, and the christian temple already lifts its spire to heaven. Already have the heralds of the cross borne sacred fire from its altar into the dark regions beyond the desert, and ere long "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand," and the "heads of her princes," be illumined by the lambent flame, which as it enlightens, purifies, and as it expands the heart and mind to the love and contemplation of the ever-living God, warms the whole man to sympathy and charity with every tribe and individual of his kind.

All which is respectfully submitted.

W. A. DUER, *President.*

IRA B. UNDERHILL, *Rec. Secretary.*

New York, May 11th 1835.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Hewitt, of Bridgeport Connecticut, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Porter of Catskill,

Resolved, That the Annual Report of the Board of Managers just read be accepted; and that the same be printed with the pro-

ceedings of the meeting in a pamphlet form, besides publishing the same in such newspapers as may choose to copy them.

On motion of the Rev. President Fisk, of the Wesleyan college, Middletown, Connecticut, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of the Dutch Reformed Church, in the city of New York,

Resolved, That the present condition and prospects of the African Colonization enterprise ought to inspire its friends with increased confidence, and prompt them to renewed and more vigorous action in its behalf.

On motion of the Rev. John Breckenridge of Philadelphia, seconded by Dr. Milnor, Rector of St. George's church, New York,

Resolved, that this Society is gratified to perceive that the Managers of the Parent Institution have resolved to endeavour to raise during the present year \$100,000, for the cause of African colonization, and that in the judgment of this meeting the crisis demands an extraordinary effort to augment the resources of that Society, without interfering with the specific objects contemplated by the union between this Society and the Young Men's Colonization Society of Philadelphia.

After a few remarks on the lateness of the hour (11 o'clock P. M.) and on the apparent desire of the audience to gain further information on the subject of African colonization,—

On motion of the Rev. George W. Bethune, seconded by Moses Allen Esq.

Resolved, That when this meeting adjourns, it adjourns to meet to-morrow evening, at half-past 7 o'clock, at this place. Whereupon on motion, the meeting adjourned.

By order of the Society.

WM. A. DUER, *President.*

JAMES MILNOR, }
NATHAN BANGS, } *Vice*
J. W. HINTON, } *Presd'ts.*

IRA B. UNDERHILL, *Rec. Secretary.*

At an Annual meeting of the Colonization Society of the city of New York, held on Thursday, 14th May 1835, in pursuance of the preceding adjournment.

The chair was taken by the President, assisted by several of the Vice Presidents, at half past 7 o'clock.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Mc Cartee, of the Presbyterian Church, of the city of New York, after which

On motion of the Rev. Cortland Van Rensselaar, seconded by the Rev. George W. Bethune of Philadelphia,

Resolved, That this Society believing African Colonization to be a righteous cause, immensely beneficial to our coloured population and also conciliatory to the south, approves the determination and efforts of the Board of Managers to raise the sum of \$15,000 for the purposes specified in the Report and that it be recommended to the members of this Society and to every friend of Colonization in this city and state to co-operate in the execution of this design.

The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. John Seyes, a Methodist Episcopal Missionary, lately returned from Africa, and a collection taken up amounting to \$5,862.

On motion of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, seconded by Elliott Cresson Esq. of Philadelphia,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the President and Board of Managers of this Society for their zealous and energetic exertions to promote the cause of African Colonization.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

By order of the Society.

W. A. DUER, *President.*

JAMES MILNOR,	} <i>Vice</i>
NATHAN BANGS,	
J. W. HINTON,	

Presd'ts.

IRA B. UNDERHILL, *Recording Secretary.*

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of the city of New York, held at the office of the Society on the afternoon of May 15th, 1835, for the purpose of making arrangements for fitting out an expedition of Colonists for Bassa Cove. William A. Duer Esq. the President in the chair.

On motion it was

Resolved, That this Board will forthwith send out an expedition to Bassa Cove, with the primary intention of removing to the colony the persons of colour at Savannah, whose situation and claims have heretofore been stated to this Board by Thomas S. Clay Esq. of Georgia, and that a committee consisting of Anson G. Phelps, James Donaldson and James M. Goold be appointed with full powers to carry the objects of this Resolution into effect, in regard not only to the Savannah Emigrants, but to all other persons of colour who may wish to emigrate to Liberia.

On motion

Resolved, That the Rev. Alexander Proudfit D. D. be and is hereby appointed the permanent Agent and Corresponding Secretary of this Board, in furtherance of the agreement made by it with the Young Mens' Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, that each Society would appoint an efficient agent to carry into effect the objects of the Union between them.

Extracted from the Minutes,

IRA B. UNDERHILL, *Recording Secretary*

OFFICERS &c.
OF THE
COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
of the City of New York.

President.

WILLIAM A. DUER, L. L. D.

Vice Presidents.

Abraham Van Nest,
Gardner Spring, D. D.
John W. Hinton,

Hugh Maxwell,
James Milnor, D. D.
Nathan Bangs, D. D.

Secretaries.

Rev. Alexander Proudfit, D. D. *Corresponding Secretary.*
Ira B. Underhill, *Recording Secretary.*

Treasurer.

Moses Allen.

Managers.

Anson G. Phelps,
Israel Corse,
James Donalson,
Rev. John P. Durbin,
Hubert Van Wagenen,
Francis L. Hawks, D. D.
David M. Reese, M. D.
Samuel A. Foot,
Samuel Akerly, M. D.
Rev. William Jackson,
William L. Stone,
Rev. Cyrus Mason,
James Monroe,
Silas Brown,
Anson Blake,

Francis Hall,
Gabriel P. Disosway,
John R. Davison,
Henry S. Richards,
James M. Goold,
Daniel Lord, Jr.
Josiah L. Hale,
Thomas De Witt, D. D.
William W. Campbell,
John Woodbridge, D. D.
Aaron Clark,
Thomas G. Fletcher,
Thomas C. Doremus,
Henry V. Garrittson,
John W. Mulligan.

Executive Committee.

Anson G. Phelps.	
Gabriel P. Disosway,	Moses Allen,
Thomas C. Doremus,	Thomas De Witt, D. D.
Rev. William Jackson,	James M. Goold.

Rev. Alexander Proudfit, D. D.—*Agent.*

APPENDIX.

The following report of the speeches delivered at the late annual meeting of the Colonization Society of the city of New York, copied from the New York Commercial Advertiser and from the New York Observer, though necessarily imperfect, it is nevertheless supposed may prove interesting whilst it serves to illustrate the foregoing proceedings.

Wednesday evening, the 13th of May 1835.

The Rev. Dr. HEWITT in moving the acceptance of the Report, said—It was unnecessary that he should advert to any of the topics which had been noticed in the Report just read; for doubtless it would shortly be in the hands of all persons, and they could examine it at their own leisure.—He should therefore do no more than merely turn the attention of the Society to two or three particulars. He humbly apprehended that such was the success of the Colonization Society, that it did not require any of its friends to plead for it in any manner whatsoever. If the Society itself, in its own simplicity and purity, was fairly exhibited to all who were strangers to it, who were not laboring under an invincible bias against those principles on which it was founded, and was impartially examined, it would make its own way into every benevolent mind.

[Here the speaker gave a brief account of the circumstances which led to the establishment of this Society, from which it appeared that in its conception it was a twin-sister of the American Bible Society.]

Now he apprehended that the reasons which led to the establishment of the Society continued, and with force. And if there were some pious persons then disposed to liberate their slaves from bondage, and not keep them in that suffering and degraded condition in which they were, yet they could not do it. However, it happened that where there was one pious family at the South, a few years ago, who wished to liberate their slaves—there was now probably ten. If that law was still in force in South Carolina, that no holder of slaves should be allowed to liberate them unless they were removed from the state—why, surely, if a pious master wished

to liberate himself from the burden, and if you please, the guilt of slavery, he had better transmit the slave to the north than keep him there in bondage all his life, although it was said there where great dangers likely to befall slaves who were sent to this city, in consequence of the sort of habits they were exposed to contract by associating with abandoned men of their own colour. He would ask, was it not a work of kindness in our Christian brethren at the South, to furnish their friends there (by setting an example) with an opportunity of giving liberty to their slaves, for *they* were acting inconsistently with the Bible, and every principle of humanity. This argument he conceived to be undeniable. He had never heard but of a single instance, where an attempt was made to overthrow that position. He would not have alluded to it, had it not become necessary for him here to advert to the fact, although, he could much have wished to have avoided doing so. It was James Cropper, of Liverpool, (who was truly a good man) with whom he had had an argument. That gentleman was laboring under misapprehensions of the relative character of slavery in the United States, and they were such as he might entertain, without at all detracting from his good sense, his incorruptible integrity, his wide and expansive benevolence, and he (Mr. Hewitt) trusted, his spiritual piety. He would repeat that he was a great and a good man. The ground taken by him in conversation, was this: that the Colonization Society was a pernicious one, because it opened a vent for the removal of slaves from the Southern States, and thereby perpetuated the system of slavery. Now, said he, if there was no vent given, there would be an excess of population, and it being obliged to remain where it was, on the hands of the masters, must necessarily diminish the value of slaves every year, and consequently their labor would become less profitable to him.

When such a state of things arrived, then, in a few years, in consequence of their rapid increase, the owner of them would be obliged to draw in his capital, and to use it in such other manner, as to make it productive and able to furnish his slaves with bread and clothing. As soon as that came to pass, the owner would at once see that his slaves were of no value to him, and would therefore cast them off as useless.

He (*Dr. Hewitt*) said that the gentleman's argument was

founded in inhumanity and cruelty. Now according to his argument that slaves should be suffered to multiply until they will not be worth their bread—would not that be most deplorable and awful?—that if not worth their daily bread to their owner, they would not be worth it to themselves, and starvation must inevitably ensue among them. And, this was his plan for putting an end to slavery, which was one of the greatest crimes we are guilty of. Now, it seemed an effort was making all over our land to establish the happiness of the unfortunate African, on principles better than those of the Colonization Society.

He, (*Dr Hewitt*) felt himself bound to obey his Lord and Master. He believed the Bible to be the word of God, and the only rule of practice for man. He was constrained to reverence God and his holy word; and had only to deplore his slow proficiency therein, and late conformity thereto. There were some doctrines in that book which were not popular to some persons. "The wisdom of this world is foolishness to God." He would quote a passage which had called forth no small degree of resentment on the part of a certain class of individuals. It was to be found in the seventh chap. 1 Cor. 21 v. "Art thou called *being* a servant? Care not for it: but if thou *mayest* be made free, use *it* rather."

He had no doubt that the word was there used as "Art thou called *being* a *slave*? Care not for it"—why should you? [At this point of the Rev. gentleman's address, he was interrupted by an abolitionist who used some harsh expression, the purport of which did not reach the reporter's ear] Mr. H. proceeded. He that contendeth with God, let him answer. (Much applause.) Mr. H. (attempting to resume his remarks,) said—"Be silent: I stand here as a Minister of Jesus Christ, and in the name of God be silent." Order having been restored, by the intervention of the Chair, he proceeded: "In regard to this subject he had only one additional remark to make, and that was, that all persons present, who made the word of God the only principal rule of conduct, could not, he conceived, find fault with the principles by which this society was governed. It was the Spirit of God, which, when it took a visible form and appeared in that of a Dove, taught us all—"if thou *mayest* be made free, use *it* rather," implying that civil and temporal freedom be-

longs to this vain world. Was it not enough for a man to be free of Jerusalem which was above? In defence of himself as a Minister of the gospel, he should refer to another part of Scripture. Political slavery was not a proper subject for him to discuss, and therefore he should not enter upon it. He was accountable for his deeds to God, whose servant he was. He would refer the meeting to the 1 Epis. Tim. chap. 6—first 5 verses.

Now it was no justification to do violence to any man on account of considerations derived from civil, political or temporal interests. It was no argument to say that the slave should be exonerated from those civil and political circumstances in which he came into the hands of his owner, and not obey him, but despise him. Let not that be said. On the contrary, they ought to bear in mind what the Apostle says, "But rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort." Now, here were rules for the guidance of men's conduct, and no one could act contrary thereto, and call his creed the Christian religion. "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness ;

"He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings,

Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness from such withdraw thyself."

He felt himself constrained to obey the injunction of the Apostle in this matter. He had been told by a young man that the Bible was an immoral book, that it justified slavery and intemperance. That sort of reasoning, if indulged in, would bring the Bible into contempt, and open the door to infidelity. Let them beware, then, how they suffer their veneration and profound submission to God's word to be in the least impaired by any such unfounded assertion, that it denied the abstract rights of men. Dr. H. then moved that the Annual Report, just read, be printed. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Porter, of Catskill, and adopted.

The Rev. Dr. *Fisk*, President of the Wesleyan University, in proposing the second Resolution, congratulated the meeting on the

present promising prospects of the Colonization cause. He could relate many circumstances which had happened, that were calculated to give the public confidence in the Society, and wish its success. About twelve months ago, a report had reached him in a neighbouring state, that the Colonization Society was dead and buried, and that a requiem had been sung over its grave; and that in all probability they would hear no more of it. For, the understanding was that there could be no resurrection for that society.—(Laughter.) He was exceedingly happy to find, however, that it was still alive; and although it might have been affected with some disease, yet it was only of such a character as usually occurred to young bodies, and tending afterwards to give to them a more healthy tone, as it seemed was the case in this instance. The society was not only alive, but probably more vigorous and efficient in its operations, than it ever had been before. (Loud applause.) He had attended the Anti-Slavery meeting, and saw no attempt made at the destruction of this society—nor was it even threatened. He would not say that all opposition had ceased, for many periodicals attacked it—though they had been somewhat more silent on the subject of late. Whenever the other party said they would give up their attacks on this society, it would no longer act upon the defensive.

He had never heard that the Colonization Society was the aggressor; but had understood that for a very considerable time, it had borne the unjustifiable attacks of the other Society, before it took up the position of self-defence. The prospects of this Society had greatly improved, he rejoiced to perceive. This noble enterprise must succeed, if the efforts now making, were persevered in, for the public would support it. It had triumphed most gloriously over all the obstacles and impediments which had been thrown in its way by those who sought its downfall. Foreign assistance had been asked, and obtained, in order to put down this Society, for the success of its opponent was said to depend on that event. Was it not cheering to think, that, notwithstanding lecturers had been visiting almost every township in the country, to get up a feeling against the Colonization Society, that it still retained the confidence and affections of the public? He was sure that none but the best of causes could stand such a shock, and retain the power

and influence it had at the present moment. He referred to the original design of the Society. It was well to examine first principles, and the subsequent action upon those principles, in order to ascertain whether, in the advancement of an enterprise, its original design had been answered. What was the primary object of this Society? 1. To benefit the black man, bond or free, on this, or on the other side of the Atlantic. 2. To benefit the white man. For it was not supposed that the interests of either, were to be excluded. Must we entirely overlook the interests and safety of the slave-holder, in our love for the slave? Certainly not. He was willing to acknowledge that the coloured man was his brother; but so, also, was the white man. The same destiny awaited both here, after, and each was bound by a common tie, to the heart of the philanthropist here. And in both these respects, had not this colonization enterprise thus far answered the end of its formation? Had not the Colonization Society been the means of benefiting the coloured man? Had not the public sympathy been awakened by its exertions? He hesitated not to say it. The cause was going on successfully for both parties. He believed the enterprise to have answered its original design, and that it would continue to do so. No better plan had been devised to effect the desired object; it was, therefore, much better to cling to it, at least, until a superior one could be produced. What alternative had been presented to them? Where was there a better plan? Had not slavery, on the whole, been meliorated? Had not many been liberated? Were not the rights of the coloured race more clearly perceived, and more deeply felt than formerly? Even the very ultraism of the immediatists, was the benevolence of Colonizationism, hurried onward by an intemperate zeal, to a feverish excess. For, said the speaker, we live in an age of *ultraism*, and we can scarcely now engage in any enterprise *in spite of the devil*, but he himself will turn charioteer, and ruin, by intemperate and furious zeal, a cause he cannot resist.

Had not the society gone into the heart of slavery and pleaded the cause of the negro? And it might have done more than it had already effected, but for another cause, which was well understood. He granted that the laws in some of the slave-holding States had of late been made more severe. But whose fault was that? It was

but yesterday a clergyman from the South informed him that before the strong anti-slavery movements commenced the subject of slavery was freely discussed among them, but now an entire silence was maintained on that subject, except when it was broken, to reprobate the conduct of the immediate abolitionists. The plan of the Society apposed to this had not as yet succeeded—nor was it likely to meet with success.—It was all nonsense to talk about admitting the negro to all the privileges which we enjoyed. He could not have domestic equality given him—public feeling would revolt at the idea. It would be, at once, to break up the relations existing in society—civil, social and political. And if not granted him would he be satisfied? No, he would not. Supposing, for a moment, the negroes to be put on the same footing as the whites, and just as one party or the other obtained the ascendancy, such feeling would arise as might lead to most serious consequences. There would be constant bickering and ill blood between them. No man could foresee what would be the consequence of such a state of things. He challenged any man to show how there could be political equality or even harmony, where there was not domestic equality. Domestic relations were the foundation of all others—here in the domestic circle the elements combine and amalgamate, and from these elementary bonds the different parts of society become consolidated. Disunited here, they are disunited every where and in every stage of life. A legal and political equality therefore under such circumstances, would only be a combination of conflicting elements, producing commotion, effervescence, collision and bloodshed. To provide against such a result was the object of the Colonization enterprise. Some such outlet the black man would probably need, even if the whole race of slaves were made free. In the collisions of interest and in the strife for ascendancy, one party or the other would probably prevail, and violence and oppression might follow. In such a case the whites, if the losers, would find an asylum with their brethren in any direction; but if the coloured race were the losers and must fly from oppression, whither should they fly?

The Colonization Society, then, were opening the way for the black population of the country to return to the land of their forefathers, where they might enjoy a full abundance of liberty with safety to themselves, and the promotion of the prosperity of the country they had left. If the African Colonization is benefiting

Africa herself—if it opens up a door of hope to the slave, it would be important, even if the ultra abolitionists should succeed in their proposed project, and the slaves should all be immediately emancipated—and if, indeed, this as yet appears to be the only efficient and extended project for benefiting the coloured race,—how important, said the speaker, that christian benevolence gather around the institution, and that christian munificence should support it with an untiring zeal and an enlarged liberality.

The Rev. *John Breckenridge* commenced his observations by saying, that the subject then under consideration was one of the most important character, and highly calculated to excite the sympathy of every American heart in that assembly. The question which they were now discussing, had been agitated as much as any other, at least, that had ever been brought before this people. We were in the midst of war—a fact upon which we all agreed, if in nothing else, and they had been compelled to enter into it. We were at war—a war for love—a war which had been carried on in defence of that institution, for which some of us had toiled many years, and which had been treated alternately with ridicule, and respect—just according to the temper of the party assailing it. He felt, when he rose to speak on this interesting subject, the spirit of a man and an American, and as a minister of our Lord Jesus Christ, he was truly impressed, not only with the duty, but also, the necessity of adding his testimony to that of others, on this great, but very agitating question. And here, if it were necessary, he would state to the most humble and unworthy of those whom he was called to meet, if under examination, what were his principles. He was an abolitionist—an abolitionist of the same sort as the late John Jay—(Applause)—of the good old school of John Jay and Benjamin Franklin; and in the spirit of Franklin, and of them who brought freedom to the land.

It was his opinion, that every consistent Christian was an abolitionist, in the right sense of that much abused term—(Applause.) And, allow him, to say, that in the discussion which had just taken place, he could not second, entirely, some of the remarks of his venerated brother—who was called the Apostle of Temperance. Some of his views he could not assent to. [Here Mr. B. stated

what were his views of the passages of Scripture which had been quoted by Dr. Hewitt. Subsequently Dr. H. explained, and stated that the interruption which he met with, had prevented him from completing what he had intended to say upon that point; from all which, it appeared that he had been misunderstood by Mr. Breckenridge—there being in fact no essential difference between them.] Mr. Breckenridge proceeded.

He was going on to remark in reference to the general question, that he held it to be a principle resting on the Bible, where the rights of God and the rights of man were defined, that every man is imprescriptibly and inalienably free. He held the principle that property in the person of a man, was an absurdity—was an impossibility, and when attempted, was a sin. (Applause.) And, while he could not but approve the passages from Scripture which had been quoted by the last speaker, he felt bound to condemn the attempts which had been made by another Society, to cull from the word of God, language to promote their revolutionary and radical spirit. (Applause.) It was, indeed, a deep and eternal rebuke to them who would agitate our now happy land, by casting their fire-brands heedlessly around them, producing elements of discord which could only injure the cause which they advocate.

The question was divided between abolitionism in its modern style—Anti-slavery, (or call it what they pleased,) and Colonization in its also modern style, for it was the application of an old principle in reference to American relations. The position as assumed by our friends, and opposed by our enemies, presented for this generation, two great and important questions to decide. He conceived that those who upheld the principles of of the Anti-Slavery Society, had no ground to stand upon but that of error. There was one bright spot between the two Societies, and he loved to defend it. He need scarcely say, that he alluded to the Ladies' Association for educating the colonists and the heathen that were around them, which the Abolitionists had never dared to touch.

They had not even attempted to sustain it, though not opposed to it. This was the only neutral ground he knew of, on the whole subject. Supposing the Colonization Society was out of the question—(and he presumed his brethren who opposed it, thought it was

so bad that it might remain bad,) the object of himself and friends would be to discover a remedy for what they all deplored; and he agreed with the old law maxim,—*Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum*, or, in other words, if there was any thing better than had been adopted, they wished to be told of it.

Supposing the Colonization Society dead and buried, the question then would arise—"How do you account for the fact? In the first place, there were 173,000 free blacks in the free states before the Abolitionists were born in their present shape. Who sought for that freedom? Where did that salvation come from? He knew it was the duty of men to make them as free as they could do in the slave states. How did it come to pass that the Abolitionists were diminishing? They were without the spirit of Joshua, who took the city of Jericho by the blowing of ram's horns; for *they* walked round and round the walls of Jerico blowing their horns, but the walls still remained standing. And the reason why they did not get within the walls, as they (the meeting) had been told yesterday by Thompson, at the Abolition meeting, was, that there was a *gibbet on the other side!* (Loud laughter.) But Paul was not afraid of a gibbet, for he clanked his chains in Nero's face. Let the gentlemen of the Abolition Society go and try their luck in the South. He did not say this in the language of defiance. He, however, thought that the days of romance—of miracles, and deeds of heroic martyrdom were all past, and that the exertions of those gentlemen, would be of no avail there whatever.

What, he would ask, had been the spirit shown by the Abolitionists? Why, his friend Mr. Bethune had been charged with bribery, by a paper published in this city, called the "Emancipator," for having received a donation from a Southern lady, in behalf of the objects of this Society. Many other things, too, were said, of a like character, but with which he could not then trust his tongue to tell. What? was this the spirit of Jesus, which was going to convert the world, and that had induced a man to come to this country to plead the cause of the black man with the feeling of a Christian?

[Here Mr. B. read from the *Emancipator*, a very violent article on the Colonization Society, in which a side-blow was aimed at the Constitution of the United States.] Now, was not that the spirit which was going to destroy the Union? After two or three further remarks, not distinctly heard, Mr. B. read an extract from the *New York Evangelist*. It charged the American Board with having associated themselves with those who were engaged in sending negroes to a foreign land, in order that they might be enabled to hold them in perpetual bondage. The Society was also attacked for having received money from the South.

[He wondered whether the proprietors of that paper ever received any money from that quarter; and if they did, he should like to know whether there was any *black blood in it*.]

He was glad that that venerated gentleman, (Dr. Cox, of London,) had declined to appear at the anti-slavery meeting; and he had been denounced for it. It would be treachery—

[Here Mr. Hoby, the colleague of Dr. Cox, attempted to interpose a few remarks, begging that the transaction might not be referred to.]

If those who belonged to the Anti-Slavery Society were as consistent in their opposition to slavery, as the Colonization Society was, he thought they ought to act with more silence and modesty. In regard to Mr. Thompson, he wished he would leave our country. (Tremendous applause.) He did not like to see a minister of the gospel act as he had done. And he (Mr. B.) would warn him—that venerated Britain might not be misrepresented;—it would not do for him to pour out his ferocious radicalism here, which he represents, or to attempt to disgorge its filthy matter upon us. He (Mr. B.) would beg of him to leave the country, or refrain from discussing a subject which belongs to the political relations of this country. He trusted *he* would desist. If he did not, Mr. B. was afraid that difficulty would be produced. He then moved the third Resolution.

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1835.

At half past 7 o'clock the chair was resumed by the President and the exercises of the evening were introduced with prayer by Rev. Dr. McCartee. After a brief recommendation from the chair to the observance of the strictest decorum, (prompted by the circumstance of some interruption having occurred on a previous evening)

The Rev. CORTLAND VAN RENSALEAR, formerly of Albany, but who has lately resided in Virginia, addressed the meeting, and after alluding to the difference of opinion which prevailed among the friends of Colonization, touching the present condition and treatment of the coloured population in this country, proceeded to offer reasons why the people of the North should approach their brethren in the South, who held the control of the coloured population, with deference, and in a spirit of kindness and conciliation.

These reasons were briefly as follows : 1. Because the people of the south had not consented to the original introduction of slaves into the country, but had solemnly, earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated against it. 2. Because having been born in the presence of slavery, and accustomed to it from their infancy, they could not be expected to view it in the same light as we view it at the North. 3. Slavery being there established *by law*, it was not in the power of *individuals*, to act in regard to it, as their personal feelings might dictate. The evil had not been eradicated from the state of New York all at once : it had been a gradual process, commencing with the law of 1799, and not consummated-until 1827. Ought we to denounce our Southern neighbors, if they refused to do the work at a blow ? 4. The Constitution of the United States tolerated slavery, in its articles apportioning representation with reference to the slave population, and requiring the surrender of runaway slaves. 5. Slavery had been much mitigated of late years, and the condition of the slave population much ameliorated. Its former rigor was almost unknown, at least in Virginia, and it was lessening continually. It was not consistent with truth, to represent the slaves, as groaning day and night under the lash of tyrannical task-masters. And as to being kept in perfect ignorance, Mr. V. had seldom seen a plantation where some of the slaves could

not read, and where they were not encouraged to learn. In South Carolina, where it was said the Gospel was systematically denied to the slave, there were twenty thousand of them church members, in the Methodist denomination alone. He knew a small church, where, out of 70 communicants, 50 were in slavery. 6. There were very great difficulties connected with the work of Abolition. The relations of slavery had ramified themselves through all the relations of society. The slaves were comparatively very ignorant ; their character degraded ; and they were unqualified for immediate freedom. A blunder, in such a concern as universal abolition, would be no light matter. Mr. V. here referred to the result of experience and personal observation, on the mind of the well known Mr. Parker, late a minister of this city, but now of New Orleans. He had left this city for the South, with the feelings of an immediate abolitionist ; but he had returned, with views wholly changed. After seeing slavery and slave-holders, and that, at the far South, he now declared the idea of immediate and universal abolition, to be a gross absurdity. To liberate the two and a half millions of slaves in the midst of us, would be just as wise and humane, as it would be for the father of a numerous family of young children, to take them to the front door, and there bidding them good-bye, tell them they were *free*, and send them out into the world to provide for, and govern themselves. 7. Foreign interference was, of necessity, a delicate thing, and ought ever to be attempted with the utmost caution. 8. There was a large amount of unfeigned Christian anxiety at the South, to obey God and do good to man. There were many tears and prayers continually poured out over the condition of their coloured people, and the most earnest desire to mitigate their sorrows. Were such persons to be approached with vituperation and anathemas ? 9. There was no reason why all our sympathies should be confined to the coloured race, and utterly withheld from our white southern brethren. The Apostle Paul exhibited no such spirit. 10. A regard to the interest of the slaves themselves dictated a cautious and prudent and forbearing course. It called for conciliation ; for the fate of the slaves depended on the will of their masters, nor could the north prevent it. The late laws against teaching slaves to read had not been passed until the Southern people found inflammatory publications circulating among the peo-

ple. 11. The spirit of the gospel forbid all violence, abuse and threatening. The apostles had wished to call fire from heaven on those they considered as Christ's enemies; but the Saviour instead of approving this fiery zeal, had rebuked it. 12. These southern people, who were represented as so grossly violating all christian duty, had been the subjects of gracious blessings from God in the outpourings of his Spirit. 13. When God convinced men of error he did it in the spirit of mercy; we ought to endeavor to do the same thing in the same spirit.

But it might be asked was nothing to be done? Were things to be left just as they were, to their own results? He replied, that something was to be done, and much could be done. If asked how: he would reply by PRAYER TO GOD. He had been happy to hear this mode of benefitting the slave recommended at the late anniversary of the Anti-slavery Society. Good could be done by *disseminating the gospel* more fully among the slaves: and to this Mr. V. earnestly exhorted those who heard him. Why did the friends of the Anti-slavery cause refuse to lend the least aid to this object? They had been applied to in Boston, in Portland, and in this city, to contribute towards this good work, and had utterly refused. Yet these were the men who so loudly charged the slave-holders of the South for refusing to benefit the souls of their slaves. *Southern Christians and Southern Ministers*, were urging on the plan of giving *religious instruction* to these unhappy people. Thus they were counteracting the worst evils of the system. And thus it became the real friends of the slaves every where to act.

Mr. Van R. pleaded for the support of the Colonization Society on the old ground, where it had been placed by Mills, by Finley, and by Caldwell. He had seen nothing to shake his confidence in those principles. He had long observed that there was nothing good that was ANTI. As soon as men got into a very active opposition to each others plans and views, the worst passions of our nature were soon roused, and the opposition and hatred which was at first entertained against the supposed error and evil, soon came to be transferred to the men who advocated it. True the gospel was a system of *Anti-Sin*: but its very genius, and informing and life-giving spirit was love: it was *Anti-no-man*.

Mr. V. thought that much had already been done in the cause:

but that much more was to be and would be done, and that by various devices which might hereafter suggest themselves as circumstances developed their propriety. The opponents of the cause had committed themselves to one single course : from which they would under no circumstance whatever depart ; but its friends were free to vary their plans as mercy with prudence might point out the way. But he was for adopting no untried policy without mature and careful examination.

In concluding, Mr. V. presented this case by way of illustration of the duty and the aim of the Colonization Society. Suppose a slave-trader having completed his cargo of wretched captives, had commenced his homeward voyage : and while far out at sea should suddenly become convinced of the evil of what he was doing, should heartily repent it, and seek for the true course of immediate duty in regard to it. What would that be ? To take off his hatches, and turn his slaves loose on deck ? To permit the slaves and the crew to crowd one another into the sea, cut each other's throats, and perish in the waste of waters ? No : his duty would be to put about ship, make the best of his way back to the coast he had left, and restore his liberated and rejoicing captives to their native shores. This was the duty of the South : they must abolish the evil of slavery as fast as they can with safety : with safety to the slave and safety to themselves. This was the old ground on which the society had proceeded, where Ashmun and Mills had placed it ; and never, until the sainted spirits of those fathers of colonization should return from the dead, and declare that the cause of their beloved Africa was helpless and hopeless, would he never abandoned it.

He concluded by offering a resolution that it is expedient for the New York Colonization Society to raise forthwith the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars for the purpose of colonizing the colored people in Savannah now ready to emigrate to Liberia.

The Rev. G. W. BETHUNE, of Philadelphia, rose to second the motion. And observed in the commencement that he desired to respond to the assertion of his friend last night, (Mr. Breckenridge,) that he was an abolitionist, and that all the society were abolitionists. He must protest against the opponents of the Colonization cause arrogating to themselves all the charity, and all the philanthropy, and all the benevolence which were usually supposed to be implied

in the terms Abolition and Emancipation. He was one of those who believed it was the natural right of every man to be free : and he held it the duty of all Christians to take every measure, consistent with the word of God, to make every human being free as soon as it could be done. Wherever a real friend to Colonization was to be found, and by this he meant the man who *prayed* and the man who *gave* for that cause, there would be found a true friend to emancipation. And on the other hand, show him a real friend to measures of emancipation, and by this he meant measures which did *actually produce emancipation*, there he should find a friend to the Colonization Society. But where you found a man full of narrow and bigoted attachment to the theory, the abstract doctrine of immediate universal emancipation, there you would be almost certain of finding a decided opponent and enemy of that society.

Why then should the friends and advocates of the society meet with such harsh treatment ? and why had the gentlemen who had put forth a recent book on the subject of colonization, been careful in speaking of the recent riots in this city, to charge them, without the slightest foundation in truth, upon the machinations of the Colonization Society, and at the same time been as careful to say not a word about the riot in South Carolina which had threatened the life of Gov. Pinney ? and why did he omit also that other riot which threatened the life of Finley ? These were composed of the enemies of the Society : and they proved that all enemies of colonization were pro-slavery men as truly as the New York riots proved that all who did not join the Anti-slavery Society were pro-slavery men ? But these, with that candor which characterised the author, had been carefully left out.

And how was it that the same gentleman did not remember that the honorable man who now filled the chair, (Mr. Duer,) was the very individual who in the state legislature of 1817 had moved the immediate abolition of slavery ? [Loud applause.] Why had he neglected to state that every man now known to the public as engaged in laboring for the good of *the soul* of the black man at the south, was also, equally known as a friend of the Colonization Society ? Why had he not referred to Mr. B's excellent friend who had just taken his seat ? a man who while bearing a name justly dear to every New Yorker, and born to prospects of wealth, influence and power such as were most calculated to tempt the heart of man, had

renounced ease and pleasure to be a humble preacher of the humble the despised, the neglected slave ?

Why, too, had he not remembered the name of Charles Halcock Jones, a name honored and endeared at the South, the bearer of which, allied to its most distinguished families, and successfully pursuing the profession of the law, in the face of all the prejudices of Southern slave-holders, had left the fairest prospects of fame and fortune, that he might stoop,—no,—that he might elevate and dignify himself, by preaching the gospel of God to more than six thousand of the African race, in his native state of Georgia ? and why did he not tell of other men, who, from the same Georgia, went out to Africa, solely for the good of her sable sons ?—men, did he say ? He had for the moment, a distinguished christian lady, well born and well educated, amiable, accomplished, honoured, beloved, who had left all that courted her stay in her native land, to devote herself as a missionary to Africa, and who had gone, with the rescued exiles, in their return to their own shores, solely for the divine task of enlightening their darkness and teaching them the way to heaven. When talking about the *tendency* of colonization principles, how was it that the author had forgotten these ? They were all Colonizationists ?

Mr. B. said, that since he had been in Philadelphia, he had seen a sensible coloured woman from the Southern states, who told him, that she was harassed and persecuted with questions and remonstrances, and ridicule, because she had determined on emigrating to Liberia : and who gave this simple account of the reasons which had induced her to take that step. “When I was at the South, I discovered, that wherever a man was a merciful master, noted for kindness to his slaves, and forward in every thing that was for the good of the coloured people, he was invariably a friend to the Colonization Society ; but those who opposed his improvement and happiness, were to a man, enemies to the Society. So I concluded the colonization men were our friends, and I believed what they told me.” The woman had since gone to Africa.

But, said Mr. B. I am wandering. I am no apologist for slavery, No. “Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still slavery, still thou art a bitter draught, and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art not the less bitter on that account.” Nor was he one of

those who held, that this was a subject on which the North had no right to interfere. He claimed the right; he claimed it under a law higher in its authority than any enactment of man—by a law higher in its origin and its aims than the promptings of patriotism itself; he meant the law of God—the principles of universal philanthropy. Wherever oppressed men were to be found, there were the suffering brethren of Jesus Christ his Master, and they claimed his sympathy and his aid, and they should have it. But how could he act for their relief? Ought he, in his pity for the slave, to forget the slave's master? Should he be reckless of murder? regardless of incendiarism? and all the thrilling horrors of general revolt? No. He knew there were men, who, themselves being exposed to none of the danger, cried out, "*Fiat justitia, ruat, cælum,*" but who, if their heads, or their property were at hazard, would sing a very different note. *Ruat cælum* indeed? Yes: the heavens might fall, but these gentlemen would take very good care of their own necks.

The question then returned. How shall we do good to these people? Admitting that the power to liberate or not to liberate them, was *de facto*, in the hands of the white masters at the South, two things were needful: first, to obtain the consent of their masters; and secondly, to show how the benefit may be conferred with safety to those who receive it, the poor slaves themselves. One thing was certain: you never could convince any such man, unless you approached him in a spirit of kindness and moderation, a spirit which admitted, and sympathized with, the difficulties of the slaveholder. The Gospel, while it testified of sin, came with the offer of grace in its hand, with sympathy and compassion in every look and every tone. So, while it was a christian duty to rebuke the sin of slave-holding, and to search it out, yet this was to be done only in a spirit of love and piety, and not in a spirit of denunciation, and rash, and merciless judgment. What right had we to denounce? Were we ourselves so clear of guilt in this matter? And if we were, did not the Son of God, himself without spot, come down with heaven's mercy, not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved? Let us imitate his example: let us act in his spirit.

Mr. B. had found by associating with the people of the South, that there was a strong objection to all *foreign* interference. Mr. B.

did not indeed think any thing less of a free-born Briton because he was warm on the subject of slavery ; nor did he think any less of the benevolent ladies of Scotland because they pitied our American slaves at the South. Yet he might mourn over their errors and their prejudices, and he might be sorry for their selection of an advocate. (Hisses from the gallery.) Yet he had sufficient confidence in the judgment of women to be well assured, and every impulse of his heart compelled him to believe, that were those ladies witnesses of the state of things in this country they never would be found among the opposers of the Colonization Society. But he must object to foreign interference where it came in the spirit of indiscriminate denunciation ; where it reversed all its compassion for the slave, and extended no sympathy, nor candor, nor justice to the slave-holder. He was opposed to an interference which without considering, or knowing, or seeking to know the circumstances of the case, commanded without pity, and condemned without a hearing.

And England never could feel for us in this matter. It was impossible. She had no coloured population in her own bosom ; and in the business of emancipation she had shown us no example, because she was not in our circumstances. There was no parallel between the two cases. Britain emancipated the slaves of the West India Islands, but we were called to set them free upon our soil, and in the midst of our society. And the fact was that the British Parliament had not emancipated a single slave they ever owned. They emancipated the slaves of other people. Every member of that body who himself owned West India property voted with scarce an exception *against* the bill. They sat in perfect personal safety, and legislated away the property of other people. Property ! I do not admit slaves to be property, but the Parliament did, and they emancipated them against the will and remonstrances of their masters. But here the slaves if set free at all, must be liberated by their own masters, with their free consent, and it can never be done without.

Besides, when the slaves of the West India planters were liberated, it was not among the people of England ; the ocean rolled between them. If throats were to be cut, they were not the throats of members of Parliament, nor of voters and petitioners at public emancipation meetings. If houses were to be burned, it was

not their houses. If a pauper population was to be created, to live upon alms or by depredation, it was not there, upon the soil of happy England, that they were to beg or to steal. But the case in all its particulars, was wholly different with us. The parallel would not hold, and the boasted, vaunted example held up in our face, was, after all, no example at all. And besides : was it not a fact, that when the details of the system of British emancipation, connected with apprenticeship, were first received here, the Anti-Slavery paper here denounced the bill as a contemptible system of gradualism. The very fundamental principles of the plan, was a principle which the emancipation party here repudiated. It was the principle of paying the holders for the slaves emancipated. The Abolitionists deny the right of the holders to receive, and the right of the friends of emancipation to pay them one penny of the price of the slave, because they deny all ownership in the matter. In this matter, therefore, the British could not assume to dictate to us.

And, after all, who were greater Colonizationists than the British Government ? Not indeed of their blacks ; but what meant these swarms of paupers they were disembarking upon all our shores ? (Loud applause.) What was this emptying of their alms-houses, and sending amongst us those who were unable or unwilling to support themselves in Great Britain ? What was this ? This was *Colonization* with a vengeance. (Great applause.) Some indeed of those who emigrated were an invaluable accession to our strength : but the great body of them were depraved in morals, and broken in fortune, not a strength, but a burden. And what could be said of the emigration from Ireland—where men were compelled to emigrate, actually driven out of the country at the point of the bayonet ? forced upon us by the public authority, by the systematic and deliberate policy of government ? Was Britain then authorized to dictate to us, and to rebuke us for an attempt to colonize our free black population, with their own consent ? Mr. B. spoke only in general terms. He loved Great Britain : she was the mother of us all, and that not only in arts and arms, in science and literature, but especially in religion : and all her sons who come to us in the meek and benevolent spirit of the religion of Christ, were at full liberty to speak to us of the evils of slavery,

and to remonstrate against its perpetuity. But it must be done in a spirit of love, with respect and kindness, and not with haughty rebuke and arrogant dictation.

As to the second point, viz. the safety of the slave, the mode of relief must be distinctly shown. Every great object of a national kind, must be accomplished gradually. History did not show a single instance, where it had been effected of a sudden. The Southern people, in this matter of emancipation, held the power in their own hands : and it was nonsense for us on this side of the Potomac, to talk authoritatively in the case. We could not emancipate the slaves of Southern planters, if we would ; the duty was not ours, but theirs. Now it was obvious, that when an address was directed to conscience, it was, and must always be virtually, an address to individuals. It must be so in the nature of things ; and the appeal in behalf of liberating the slave, must be an individual appeal. The Northern people came to a Southern slave-holder, and said to him : " It is a duty binding on you, to abolish slavery as soon as you can. If you will emancipate your slave, we will provide him a home upon the soil of Africa. We are aware, that the laws of your state forbid you to set him free where he is : but if you confide him to our care, we will place him where these laws cannot reach him, and where he may walk abroad in the erect majesty of a freeman." To such a proposition, there were many slave-holders ready to listen ; many had acted upon it ; and could any man doubt that one such example would have more influence towards the abolition of slavery, than all the invectives and vituperation that could be poured out upon slave-holding ? Beyond all question it would. It was upon the effect of such appeals that Mr. B. founded his hopes of ultimate success ; and he believed that the great object might thus be obtained without sending out all the coloured population from the country.

But it was said that to send them to Africa was impossible : it could not be done. Yet was it not a fact that millions upon millions of slaves had been brought *from* Africa, by the mere cupidity of bad men. Were there not in a single year 40,000 carried into the Brazils alone ? And should it be said that the christian philanthropy of America, backed by all our abundant and increasing national wealth, could not effect what the bare avarice of the slave-trader

had done and was every day doing? Surely if the society had the pecuniary means this might be effected: and they should have had more of those means but for the interference of those who insisted upon the visionary scheme of immediate and universal emancipation. Yet no: he was wrong. The society had not received less, but more in consequence of the abuse of its opponents: a fact in which he recognized with joy the fulfilment of God's ancient promise, that the wrath of man should praise him.

Mr. B. had risen to address the audience on one subject. They were called now to testify openly *how much* they loved the cause of Colonization; and this was to be proved by their contributions to its treasury. It was a fact that at this moment more than 100 emancipated slaves were waiting at Savannah for an opportunity to go to Bassa Cove, (and this was but an eighth part of the number who were prepared to embark the moment the society should furnish the means.) This company, in addition to the 123 who were already there, on the soil of their ancestors, in freedom and happiness, would make a respectable commencement of their new colony. Was there then any advocate of *immediate* emancipation present in that assembly? any friend of abolition in *deed* and in truth? any who wanted to knock off a shackle? any who were in earnest in desiring to place a slave in freedom beyond the cruelty of his Southern owner? let such a one produce \$25 or \$30 and the Society stood now prepared to pledge itself to put the oppressed and degraded being in freedom and comfort for that sum. Was this nothing? was not this real emancipation? actual, present, tangible abolition; Here was a test for every man. By this he might measure his pity for slaves, his hatred of slavery. Here let him follow the example of the God of Israel, who when he would redeem his ancient people from the hard bondage of Egypt COLONIZED them into the land of Canaan. The Colonization scheme was in truth the only one which both promised and effected IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Mr. B. would not touch upon the missionary aspect of the plan; that had already been ably treated and fully illustrated. But he did insist on the duty of pitying the black man, and of requiting the sweat and toil he had expended on our soil, by placing him in freedom and peace upon his own.

Mr. Bethune in continuation observed, that he was sorry not to see some of our English friends present, and while speaking of them, he could not help thinking what sort of a reception the agent of the Edinburgh ladies, (Mr. Thompson) would meet on his return to his constituents, and what sort of a report he would probably make on the subject of his mission. He could not but picture to himself the fair lady President inquiring,

"And pray, Mr. Thompson, what did you *do* in America?"

To this he thought he heard the Agent responding,

"Why, ladies, I made speeches there: for which one part of my audience loudly applauded me, and another part as loudly hissed me."

"And pray, where did you make your speeches, Mr. Thompson? did you go to that part of the country where slavery prevailed, and tell *them* how wrong it was?"

"Oh, no! if I had, they would have hanged me! But I went to the *Northern* states, ladies, and I told them what wicked people they were at the South."

"But, Mr. Thompson, had the people at the North any power to emancipate the slaves of the Southern holders?"

"Oh no. No more, ladies, than you have yourselves."

"Indeed! and then Mr. Thompson, why did not you stay at home, and make your speeches to us?"

[These queries and replies were constantly interrupted with bursts of enthusiastic applause, mingled with long and uncontrollable laughter: while other parts of the building, particularly the galleries, resounded with angry hisses.]

"But pray, Mr. Thompson, while you were in the United States, were there no slaves *actually liberated* and placed in circumstances of comfort and happiness?"

"Oh! yes, ladies, there were one hundred and twenty emancipated and sent to Liberia soon after my arrival; and preparations were making to send one hundred more from Savannah, so that in a few months, there were 220 delivered entirely and for ever from slavery."

"And by whose agency was the emancipation of these slaves effected, Mr. Thompson?"

“Why, ladies, by the very people against whom I was all the while directing my vituperative speeches.”

[Here the speaker was obliged to pause, while shouts of laughter shook the building.]

I have no inclination, said Mr. B. to be personal to this gentleman, [louder laughter still] but as he has become a public character, and historical withal, I presume it is fair to remark upon his course. In all that I have said of him, I have not, I believe, violated in a degree, the rules of gentlemanly courtesy. I have used no harsh terms, and no abusive epithets.

Mr. President, in conclusion, permit me to express the hope, that the results of this evening's proceedings will be brought down to dollars and cents : for after all, it must come to that. What will you *give* to aid us ? is the test to which we are now compelled to put to our friends. We have recently established a new paper, entitled the **COLONIZATION HERALD** : for this purpose, however, we have deducted nothing from the funds of the Society. The gentlemen who have no money to give to colonize and make happy the liberated slave, have money in abundance to establish Anti-colonization papers, and to circulate their tracts and books from one end of the country to the other, and we also must circulate our publications ; and we ask especially, that the friends of the Colonization cause would help us, by subscribing for our paper. We trust we shall not ask in vain. [Applause.]

The audience was next addressed by the Rev. Mr. Seyes, who had been in Africa, as a missionary, and who had brought back with him to this country, one of the fruits of his missionary labors, in the person of a converted African Krooman.

Mr. SEYES, after congratulating himself on the honor as well as pleasure he now enjoyed, went on to state, that he had been born and brought up in the midst of West India slavery, (the island of Trinidad,) having viewed the black man as made to be a mere instrument for the gratification of his white master ; but having become the subject of converting grace, he had been taught a very different creed. After his conversion, he began to long for some plan by which the emancipation of the slaves from bondage might be happily accomplished ; but could devise none, until about five years since, he had come to the United States, and learned for the

first time, the objects and measures of the Colonization Society. Here he discovered the desideratum he had so long sought, and ever since had been a decided friend to the Society. With the fullest acquaintance with slavery in all its details, and in its worst form, for he had himself for years superintended a West India plantation, he was clear in the conviction that this Society was an instrument raised up by God himself to effect the best good of the coloured population, and to bless the continent of Africa, with the benefits of civilization and Christianity. He had been sent out by a branch of Christ's church, to teach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Gentiles; and on his way, he had stopped at Liberia, which, like the land of Canaan, was a fertile and delightful land.

Mr. S. then went into a description of the actual condition of the colony at Liberia. He had not received his information from disappointed and irritated men, who had been examined and re-examined, till they did not know what they said; but he had been on the spot, seen with his own eyes, and conversed with almost every individual in the colony; and the result was, a belief that nothing could shake, that the colonization cause, was the cause of God; and that, though it was opposed by some good men, they were in error and deceived. The colonists were contented and happy in proportion to their intelligence and industry. A few, and they were very few, were discontented; but these were persons of indolent habits, and not enough knowledge or understanding to appreciate what they enjoyed. This was owing to the want of previous culture. There were very few such people there; and they ought not to be palmed upon the American public, as true specimens of the feelings and views of the colonists at Liberia.

Mr. Seyes gave a most decided testimony in favor of the exemplary moral character of the colonists. In the five months he had spent there, in constant intercourse with people of all classes, he had not seen one person in a state of intoxication, nor had he heard one profane word. [Loud and exulting applause.]

He dwelt upon the value of the colony as the door to all missionary operations for the illumination of that vast but benighted continent: a nursery from which missionaries would be raised up to make the wilderness rejoice. He avowed his firm persuasion that the

Colonization Society was the most genuine *Anti-slavery Society* in existence. Other societies expressed lively sympathy for the slave : but they seemed conversant chiefly with his bodily wants and sufferings : but this society made the best provision for the good of *the mind and soul* by removing the coloured man beyond the contaminating example of the white people, and placing him where every passing zephyr whispered in his ear, "Thou art free." Here he had every religious opportunity, and full liberty of conscience in the midst of a moral community.

Mr. S. while having charge of a plantation in Trinidad had witnessed the arrival of successive proclamations under the authority of the British Parliament on the subject of relaxing the system of slavery ; and he had had an opportunity of secretly overhearing a conversation between two slaves on the subject of the proclamation which had, according to the order of government, been publicly read to them, with the rest of the slaves on the plantation. It amounted to this :

" I tell you, what all dis amount to : it is for make 'em free in de end : but Buddy, what dis here freedom after all ? if could take 'em back to Africa, and let 'em live on dare own ground, would be something ; but if dey take away care of white massa, and not leave poor niger foot a ground, nor any 'ting he call his own, what good do him, eh Buddy ?"

He had often thought of the remarks of these poor simple slaves. Neither he nor they had then heard of such a thing as the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Seyes said, that the soil of Liberia contained a mine of exhaustless wealth to the colonists : it was well adapted to the culture of the SUGAR CANE. He knew all about the culture of sugar, and he had examined the soil of Liberia : and this was his settled opinion. It wanted nothing but cultivation, and it would repay the labor of the agriculturist ten-fold. He here publicly declared it as his judgment, that if the society would raise and put into the hands of an agent the sum of \$10,000, to be laid out in the culture of sugar, it would clear all expenses, and in five years would nett a profit of \$100,000. He had gone carefully into the calculation, allowing largely for all expenses : and this was the result. This might sound chimerical : but he knew what he was saying. He had long

been himself in the business, and in latitudes so near that of Monrovia, as to warrant him to speak with confidence. The lands of the colony contained the means not only of rendering the colonists easy in circumstances but of enriching them with every thing that could render life desirable.

Mr. S. then adverted to the happy agency of the colony in putting an end to the slave trade. Wherever the Society advanced its foot, the slaver fled before it. (Loud applause.) Wherever an American emigrant put up a house, the man-stealer fled and never returned. Thousands of slaves were formerly sold were the colony was now situated, but the trade had now disappeared. (Long and loud bursts of applause.)

From a long and intimate acquaintance with slavery in all its departments, Mr. S. gave it as his advice, that the slave owner should be approached with *gentleness*, and treated with *candor* and *kindness*. He had no personal interest in the matter. He had devoted himself to the work of a missionary in Africa. He prayed that God's blessing might come *upon all* who were seeking to benefit the slave, and put an end to the abominations of the slave trade, however they might differ in their views. He concluded by expressing bright anticipations of the future growth and prosperity, wealth and power of the now infant colony, and took his seat amidst the applause of the auditory.

The President now stated from the chair, that intelligence had just reached the city from the colony, and that after the collection should be taken up, some interesting facts would be submitted to the meeting by Dr. Skinner, who had lately been appointed Governor of the colony.

MOSES ALLEN Esq. the Treasurer of the society, then rose and made to the audience this offer: that if any individual present would put into his hands the sum of Twenty Dollars, he would engage, in behalf of the Society, to place, for that money, a liberated slave upon the coast of Africa. He further stated, that a gentlemen present offered to give to the Society \$3 apiece for the first five hundred emigrants who should go out to Africa for the bona-fide purpose of settlement, and \$2 apiece for the next five hundred, on condition that the sum of two thousand dollars should now be given or secured.

This intimation was received with joyful plaudits ; and a scene commenced such as is rarely witnessed. Almost immediately after the above annunciation, the President rose and informed the meeting that two gentlemen had given each \$100 toward making up the requisite sum : the clapping which followed had scarcely subsided, when the President again rose and announced that another hundred had been subscribed. Mr. Bethune rose with much animation and exclaimed, " Here are three hundred toward it already : go on gentlemen ! " The President again rose, " another hundred." Mr. Bethune again exclaimed, " excellent ! proceed gentlemen : "—new subscriptions were every minute announced, and greeted with new rejoicings. Cards were circulated ; and subscriptions were soon made to the amount of \$1,700. " Gentlemen, said the commanding voice of the President, but three hundred dollars more are now wanting to make up the two thousand." (Cheering.)

An Anti-Colonizationist now rose in the gallery at the extremity of the church, and said that he would give one hundred, on condition that one question should be answered to his satisfaction. " That probably will be impracticable," said the President ; " however, we will hear your question." " I want Mr. Bethune to say" replied the man, " whether he ever knew or heard of a confirmed drunkard who was reformed by gradual drinking ? " A few clapped at this question, but the clapping was soon drowned in hisses ; " I will answer the gentlemen's question," responded Mr. Bethune : " and I will answer it as my Lord and Master sometimes replied to questions of no meaning, or such as were irrelevant and improper, by asking the gentleman another : Can that gentleman tell me whether he ever knew or heard of a single slave who was set free by the Anti-Slavery Society ? " (Tremendous cheering.

The President.—" Two hundred more have been recieved—who will now give us the last hundred and complete the sum ? " " Another hundred is given ; and the two thousand dollars are now completed." (Loud shoutings.)

Moses Allen, Esq. stated that if the society could have \$5,000 now subscribed, a ship would be chartered immediately, and the hundred liberated slaves now waiting at Savannah might be on shipboard and under sail for Africa, by the 15th of June.

A coloured man was now presented to the audience. who expected

shortly to go out as an emigrant to Liberia. The gentlemen who presented him said that he was an educated man, that he spoke, read, and wrote the Arabic language very fluently; and was a professed believer in Christ. He intended to act as a missionary to his race. He had been liberated by his master for this end; and had been waiting now for 90 days for an opportunity of going.

Mr. GURLEY, Secretary of the Parent Society, rose and said that he had intended making a speech of some extent on the present occasion: but the time had been so much better occupied that he should waive that purpose. He now believed that the cause of colonization would triumph and prevail. He had had some doubts and fears; but they were gone. America would yet regenerate Africa. (Cheering.) He held in his hand two sentences, extracted from the last letter written by Washington before his death. The letter was dated on the 17th of August, 1799. After alluding to his slaves at Mount Vernon, and giving directions respecting some of them, he adds, "To sell the overplus, is what I cannot do. I am principled against it. To hire them out would be as bad, because it must disperse their families: to which I have an aversion." Here were two noble principles of action avowed by the father of his country, himself a slave-holder. First, not to sell slaves; against that he was principled: and secondly, not to tear asunder their families; to this he had an aversion. Was it not possible that many of the best men of the South found themselves under similar embarrassment? How easy and happy an expedient was held out to such by the Colonization Society. After some remarks of a general character on the design of the Society, Mr. G. referred to the coloured citizens of the colony who were now present on the front of the stage, and who would speedily be presented to the audience: They could testify whether any thing had been falsely stated by those who had addressed or should address the meeting. He concluded by expressing his firm hope, that no waves of opposition would now destroy the cause, unless indeed, the abolitionists should so far succeed as to break our happy Union into fragments, and the Society would even then perish only in the general wreck of our country and its institutions.

The President now announced to the meeting, that a gentleman from New Orleans had been invited to deliver a discourse on the

jars, on condition that it should be raised by additional subscriptions to a thousand. Two hundred were immediately subscribed towards the thousand. The annunciation was received with loud cheering.

Mr. Gurley now introduced to the assembly, Nahprah Boyneh Wurreh, *alias*, Edward Joseph Hughes, a native African, lately from Liberia: he stated that he was one of the Kroomen of Africa, a very peculiar tribe of men, who are occupied chiefly in boating on the coast, from the Senegal to the Congo. They were remarkable for holding no slaves themselves, and having never been in bondage to any man. This man seemed past the middle of life; and was awkwardly built, and of a very marked and peculiar look. He spoke English after a fashion, but was scarcely intelligible without an interpreter—Mr. Seyes performed that office. As far as we could catch his expressions they were nearly as follows:—

“Tank all de gentleman and ladies:—tank all de gentlemen ladies of New York:—go to Africa tell all what I see; tank all New York gentleman, for try get poor black man free. Take good care, go to Africa, tell my countrymen. ‘You go New York you can’t die; if you go to Spain den you die dreckly.’ Africa very large—so far apart, can’t hear. From River Cess up to windward, great deal slaves; Ashmun come; now all slaves cleared away—no such ting. Glad all African people get together, talk one word. All Africa do what like—no law: but when Bible come den have law.”

The audience were much entertained with this address; and still more with the very odd looks and gestures of the speaker, who made many bows, and seemed in high good humor.

Dr. Skinner, physician and missionary, and recently appointed Governor of the Colony, was then introduced to the auditory by the President.

Dr. SKINNER said, that he considered this as one of the pleasantest evenings of his life. He adverted to his early attachment to the colonization cause, and went into some general remarks as to its objects and spirit. He then went on to give his fullest sanction to the statements which had been made by the Rev. Mr. Seyes. He admitted, that there were a few persons discontented; but they

were such as had lost their companions there, and had surviving friends in America ; and there were a few in needy circumstances from sickness, or other causes ; but the vast majority of the settlers were perfectly content and happy. A spirit had gone forth among them, which promised more attention to agriculture, than had hitherto prevailed. So rich was the soil, and so abundant all the means of living, that two hours labor out of the twenty-four would furnish a man with all the comforts of life. The state of society, as to morals, was quite as good as was found in most parts of the United States. In seven months sojourn there, he had not heard a profane word ; and though he had seen two or three persons intoxicated, they were far fewer, in proportion to the population, than was common in this country, and fewer than he had ever seen before, in the same length of time, in his life.

After expressing his concurrence in the sentiment, that colonization afforded the best ground of hope for the Christianization of the African continent, Dr. S. referred to a fact which illustrated its effect in suppressing the slave-trade. No sooner was it known to the owner of a slave factory, near Bassa Cove, that the Society had effected the purchase of Port Cresson, than his establishment was at once annihilated. The very next day he commenced his removal, observing ; " If they have completed that purchase, it is time for me to quit." [Loud applause.] There was another slavery establishment in the vicinity, but, with \$200, he would pledge himself to dislodge it, and drive the owner off with great ease. He concluded, by urging the Society to leave no means untried, to diffuse the light of knowledge over dark, benighted Africa ; and by expressing his thankfulness to God, notwithstanding all his sufferings in Africa, (where he had lost his son and some other members of his family, besides enduring much from bodily disease,) that ever he had embarked in the enterprise : and added, that he was willing, now, to go back and to lay down his life with joy, in the amelioration of the condition of that much injured race.

The President now announced that subscriptions and contributions had been received, during the evening, amounting, in all, to \$5,862. (The information was hailed with long and reiterated plaudits.) He added, that in consequence, a ship would be char-

tered, without an hour's delay, and the Savannah emigrants would probably be upon their voyage before the middle of June.

The Rev. Mr. WILSON, a man of colour, and an ordained minister of the Methodist church, recently arrived from Liberia, was presented to the audience, and made a short but impressive address. So much had been said truly in regard to the colony, that there was little left for him to add. He had, indeed, not intended to say a word about it; but simply to go back to Virginia, where his family was and take them without delay. He had determined to go and see for himself: he had done so, and he must say that the half had not been told him. He had now resolved to go and tell not only the ladies and gentlemen in Virginia, but his brethren there and here also, (here President Duer said, "Sir we are all your brethren") what was the truth of the case; and while the Societies were boxing each other across the table, he should gather up his family and go back as soon as possible. He should be sorry, indeed, if any thing should interrupt or injure so good a work as the Society were engaged in. There was a cry of the natives of Africa around Liberia for the good news of the gospel. He had himself received the message from some of them—"Come to our town and bring God's palaver to us also." Natives from the interior, hearing that he was in the habit of praying in his family, had come to his house and asked him to pray for them. He trusted that light would yet go forth from that despised colony, and cover all the heathen lands in Africa. If God would honor so feeble a worm as he was for such a work, his delight should be to go back and preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, not only to the colonists but as far in the interior as God should lead him. And in regard to the Society, he was inclined to say to its enemies, as Gamaliel said to the Pharisees, "Refrain from these men and let them alone: for if this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God." (Loud applause.)

Mr. CRESSON observed that he had intended to have said something in relation to the infant Colony at Bassa Cove; but that subject had gone by. Yet the subject was so inviting that he could scarce refrain from touching upon it. By the Margaret Mercer and the Ninus, the gratifying intelligence had been received, that

the 126 emancipated slaves who had gone out last autumn, had safely arrived, with the loss of only three persons, two by drowning and another from the effects of cold. And without a shot being fired, without the employment of one drop of liquor, and without the occurrence of any deed or word of violence, but on the contrary, in perfect love and harmony, the land for a colony at Bassa Cove had been purchased from the native chiefs. He alluded to the slanders which had been cast upon his character abroad, and to the refutation which they had received in the successful issue of this undertaking. Their British friends would be delighted to know that instead of extending and multiplying the miseries of slavery, the colony had already been the means of destroying a factory where, in October last, there were not less than 500 slaves.

Mr. Cresson then placed before the audience a young negro, of pleasing countenance, whom he introduced as the son of king Joe Harris, once himself a slave trader ; but now a friend of the Society ; and reposing such entire confidence in it, that he had committed his son to our care, to remain three years in this country for his education. (Applause.) Young Harris had come here to "learn book," and go back a white man—not in colour, but he trusted, in what surpassed all outward change, in having his sins washed away. (The lad smiled, as if he comprehended this account of him.)

Mr. Cresson read an extract of a letter from what he denominated the good old fashioned broad-brimmed Governor of the Colony. The friend observed ; "Friend Birney has asked, if ever it was heard that a trading establishment distributed the word of God. All I can say is that it has actually been so here." Such was already the actual result of a trading establishment, founded by the united philanthropy of New York and Philadelphia. He had been branded as a base deceiver ; let his deeds tell whether in this matter he had not acted as the friend of both God and man.

Mr. Gurley offered a resolution of thanks to the Board of Managers, which was adopted unanimously, and the meeting was closed with a benediction.

Extract of a letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bexley, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the British African Colonization Society, to William Alexander Duer Esq. L. L. D. President of Columbia College, New York; dated Footscray Place, Nov. 18th 1834.

“ I am happy to observe that the cause of African Colonization is prospering in America, notwithstanding considerable opposition. With us it is very languishing, owing in a great degree, I believe, to the excitement created by the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies which absorbs public attention. This great measure may hereafter furnish some materials for a British Colony in Africa, but I fear there are few of the British negroes so well qualified by education and habits to become peaceable and industrious citizens, as the settlers in Liberia. This must be the work of time, and to transport them without due preparation would be only to entail misery on themselves and those among whom they were placed; while I think the Colony of Liberia promises to be one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon Africa.”

LIBERIA.—BY L. H. SIGOURNEY.

Winds!—what have ye gather'd from Afric's strand
 As ye swept the breath of that fragrant land?
 The breath of the spice-bud—the rich perfume
 Of balm, and of gum, and of flowret's bloom?

“We have gather'd nought, save the heathen's prayer,—
 And the hopeless sigh of the heart's despair.”

Waves!—what have ye heard on that ancient coast,
 Where Egypt, the might of her fame did boast—
 Where the statue of Memnon saluted the morn,
 And the pyramids tower in their giant scorn?

“We have heard the curse of the slave-ship's crew,
 And the shriek of the chain'd, as the shores withdrew.”

Stars!—what have ye seen with the glancing eye,
 From yon burning thrones in the sapphire sky?

“We have mark'd a gem, as it brightly glow'd
 On Afric's breast, whence the blood-drop flowed—
 Pure light it shed on the dreary sod,
 Like the mystic stones of the priest of God,
 And we chanted that hymn, which we sang at first,
 When the sun from the midnight of chaos burst.”

CIRCULAR,

ADDRESSED TO THE CHURCHES, SOLICITING COLLECTIONS IN AID OF THE
COLONIZATION SOCIETY ON, OR ABOUT THE 4TH OF THE COMING JULY.

RESPECTED BROTHER—

'The 4th of July, a day memorable for giving birth to the liberties of our country, is now approaching, and each return of the anniversary of our nation's independence is calculated to remind us of those who are still in bondage, and more especially of the colored race among ourselves. The Colonization Society, you know, was formed for the benevolent purpose of promoting their emancipation, and improvement, both intellectual and moral, and the smiles of a benignant Providence on that enterprize are obviously becoming more visible with each revolving year. There are now on the western coast of Africa nine or ten villages, teeming with a free population, exulting in the full fruition of their rights both civil and sacred, more than forty missionaries of various denominations, teachers in every town, and convenient houses for public worship, Sabbath schools and Bible classes;—where ten years since that region was covered with Egyptian darkness. The intelligence recently received from the Rev. Mr. Matthias, our Governor at Bassa-Cove, is most cheering in its nature to every friend of humanity and religion, as will appear from the following extract:—"I beg my friends to be assured, that although I have suffered from a severe dispensation of Providence in the decease of my dear wife, yet I am not shaken in my view of the colonization cause. The colored man can live here incomparably better than in America, either as a slave or a freeman; the climate for him is *better*, the soil is *better*, and above all, he is a MAN *here*, and a road to wealth, and science, and respectability, is open before him. I am happy to inform you that we are acquiring influence among the natives which I did not anticipate. The situation of the colony is most encouraging, and I have had such manifestations of the divine goodness that I believe God has had some gracious designs in my coming here."

With such undeniable proof of the improved condition of the African in his new home, are we not encouraged to come up to "the help of the Lord" in the prosecution of this enterprize? On the return of the 4th July, the day on which our venerable fathers, in the presence of God, pronounced *all men to be born free*, let us bring our offering to his altar for giving freedom to this oppressed portion of the human family, and elevating them to their proper rank among the nations, and may the *blessing* of many an African rest on you and your church for your liberality on that occasion.

By order of the Executive Committee,

ALEXANDER PROUDFIT,

Corresponding Secretary.